

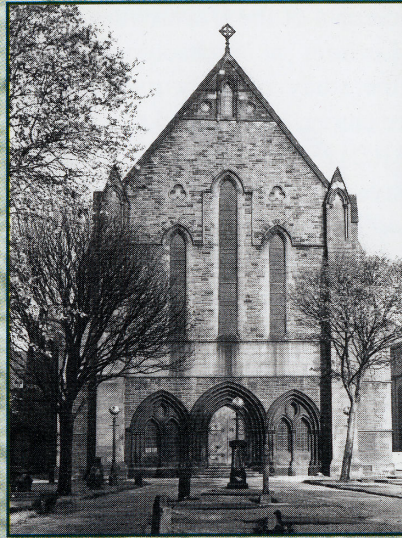


UNIVERSITY
of
GLASGOW

Driscoll, S.T. *Govan from cradle to grave.*, The Society of Friends of Govan Old (2004)

<http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/3147/>

FRIENDS OF GOVAN OLD



GOVAN
from Cradle to Grave



Stephen T Driscoll

Stephen T Driscoll, BA, MSc, PhD, FSA Scot

Dr Stephen Driscoll, a graduate of the Universities of Pennsylvania and Glasgow, was appointed Senior Lecturer in Archaeology at Glasgow 1997. Actively involved in promoting the study of early medieval sculpture and with rescue archaeology for his entire career, he founded Glasgow University Archaeological Research Division (GUARD) 1989, and has lectured at the University of Glasgow since 1992. His impressive range of publications includes Edinburgh Castle and Glasgow Cathedral and other excavations throughout Scotland. Stephen Driscoll espouses an inter-disciplinary approach, not least with his wife Dr Katherine Forsyth. Among wider professional commitments he was a member of the Council of the Society for Medieval Archaeology 1992 - 95, and its Treasurer from 1995 - 2000. He has edited the Journal of the Glasgow Archaeological Society since 1999, relaunching it as a peer-reviewed bi-annual the following year.

Stephen Driscoll conducted excavations in and around the historic graveyard at Govan in 1994 and 1996. Determined on community involvement he mobilised members of the Govan Reminiscence Group and other local volunteers for the trial excavation in 1994. Thousands of people from Govan, Glasgow and even further afield swarmed around the dig during the 1994 Open Day, demonstrating the enduring appeal of discovering and digging up the past. He was instrumental in encouraging Channel 4's Time Team to make a programme, which added to the great success of the 1996 summer excavations, eventually putting the archaeological story of Govan before a huge TV audience.

It should be recorded that Stephen Driscoll ensured that his team of professionals, students and local volunteers responded appropriately to the sensitive task of working with human remains. The human remains from the Monteith lair were respectfully re-interred during a simple service of worship conducted by the parish minister, with members of the Govan Old congregation and the archaeological team present.

Front Cover: Govan Old Parish Church (St Constantine's) and detail from the Govan sarcophagus

Back Cover: Detail from Govan angle-knob cross-slab (no 7), recut for William Bogle

Designed and Printed by

Garthland Design & Print, 4 - 7 Woodville Park Ind Est, Woodville Street, Glasgow G51 2RL Tel: 0141 445 5360

GOVAN

from Cradle to Grave

Stephen T Driscoll



First published in Scotland in 2004 by The Society of Friends of Govan Old

Copyright © Friends of Govan Old 2004

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form, or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording, or otherwise, without the prior permission of the author and publishers and copyright holders.

Friends of Govan Old, Govan Old Parish Church
P O Box 7325, Glasgow G51 3BW
www.govanold.org.uk

ISBN 0-9545321-2-0

Acknowledgements

My lecture to the Society of Friends of Govan Old on 10 March 2001 was not closely scripted and although the central themes of the original lecture have been retained, I have taken this opportunity to extend the discussion drawing upon more recent research. I am particularly grateful for the insights provided by Chris Dalglish during the course of our work on the Govan Burgh Survey (Dalglish and Driscoll forthcoming) and for observations on the Govan School of Sculpture which have been developed with the help of Oliver O'Grady and Katherine Forsyth.

These excavations were conducted at the request and under the encouragement of the Revd Tom Davidson Kelly and enjoyed the support of the University of Glasgow, GUARD and Glasgow City Council. The C-14 dating programme was funded by The Russell Trust and The Hunter Archaeological Trust. The excavations also generated some positive media coverage, in the form of a Time Team episode, at a time when Govan was a national by-word for post-industrial desolation thanks to a TV comedy show. For the most part the fieldwork was pleasurable, not least because I was able to surround myself with congenial colleagues, such as Bob Will and Irene Cullen, and volunteers from the community. The final form of this text has benefited from the sharp editorial eyes of Dr Forsyth.

Stephen T Driscoll

Acknowledgements for Illustrations

We are indebted to the following individuals and institutions for permission to publish photographs in their copyright:

Joehari Lee for 3; Raymond Young for front cover (Govan Old Parish Church); Tom E Gray for back cover (detail of cross slab no 7); Crown Copyright, Historic Scotland for front cover (detail of Govan sarcophagus); GUARD and the University of Glasgow for 1, 2, 4 - 12, 14, 15; The British Library for 13; The Society of Friends of Govan Old for 16.

Tom Davidson Kelly

Council of the Friends of Govan Old gratefully acknowledges the generous sponsorship of this publication by The Strathmartine Trust and Historic Scotland.

Introduction

Archaeology can be a frustrating exercise. Although it has significantly altered our appreciation of Govan's history, rarely can it provide a final or conclusive answer to the questions in which we are most interested. In this account I wish to reflect on what the archaeology can contribute to understanding the development of Govan from earliest Christian times until the modern era. I will not confine myself to discussing the excavations I conducted there between 1994 – 96 [illus 1 & 2], but will also look more widely at physical evidence from the past, particularly the series of carved stone monuments from within the kirkyard. This remarkable collection of sculptures, which has accumulated over more than a millennium, provides a unique witness to changes in values, devotional practices and social organization.

Although Govan has experienced two eras of greatness - which is two more than most places - I have chosen to organise my comments under four chronological headings, which also encompass periods of obscurity and ordinariness; these are: the Early Christian period (AD 500 - 800), the Viking Age (800 – 1100), the Medieval Period (1100 – 1560), the Post-medieval period (1560 – present). Govan's first era of greatness came during the Viking Age and is known only to those interested in early medieval antiquities, while the second great era, as an industrial powerhouse, is known internationally. Archaeology might seem to have most to contribute to those periods lacking in historical evidence, but in Govan the archaeological evidence never loses its potential to inform us [illus 3].

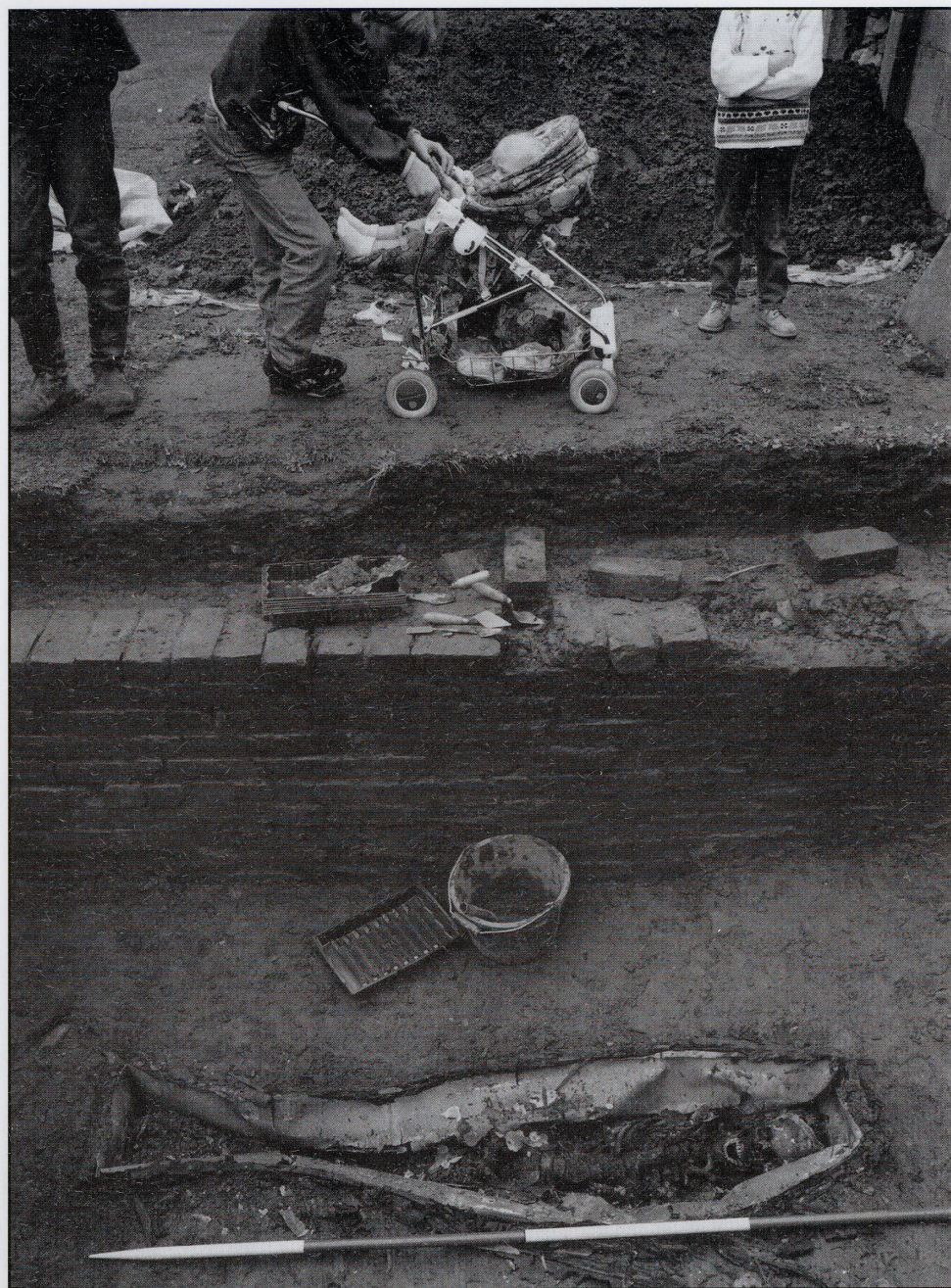
Cradle of Christianity on the Clyde (AD 500-800)

Around the time that Govan was entering its second period of greatness, people began to recognise the monumental traces from the first. The process by which the outstanding collection of sculpture came to be recognised and curated is well documented elsewhere (Ritchie 1994), but it is worth remembering that the importance of the sculpture, particularly the famous sarcophagus, was immediately recognised by informed commentators. The absence of an historical context for the sculpture meant that Govan's importance was registered but not explored. John Stirling Maxwell's publication of a complete visual record of the stones in 1899 was remarkable for several reasons. For one thing, all the monuments were included regardless of completeness, degree of wear, or aesthetic appeal. (The early medieval sculpture of Iona did not receive comprehensive treatment until 1980 with the appearance of the RCAHMS Iona inventory). Another remarkable feature of the Stirling Maxwell catalogue is the demonstration of the value of the new technology of photography to enhance the way such monuments were recorded. This celebration of Govan's ancient origins is also





2 Aerial photograph taken at the end of the 1994 excavations from the north.

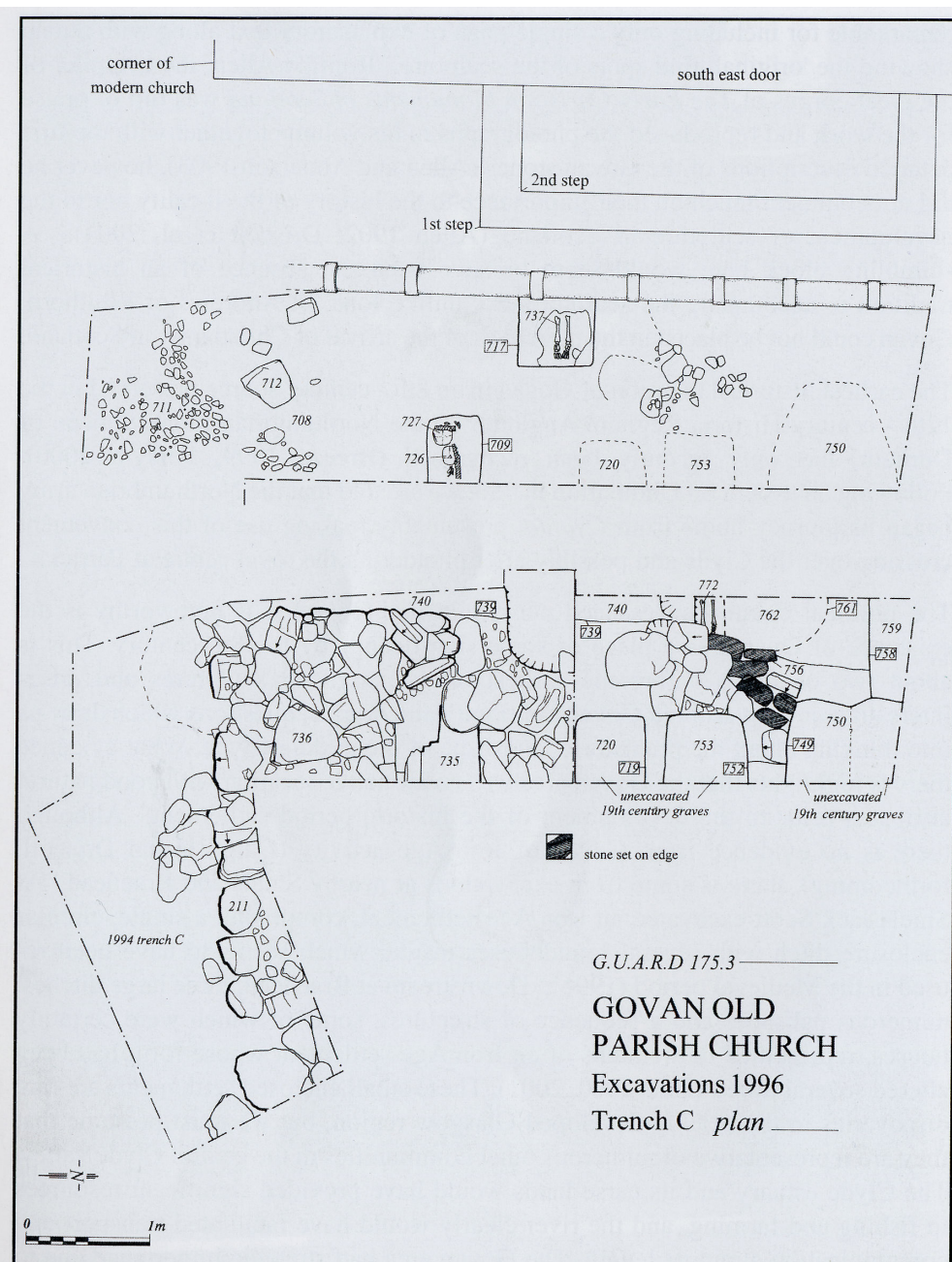


3 *A visitor contemplates a burial being excavated in the Monteith lair during the 1994 open day. Although the lead lining of the coffin collapsed as the wood decayed, the corpse has been well preserved.*

remarkable for including only a single page of explanatory text along with a map showing the 'original' find spots of the sculpture. Romilly Allen, the compiler of the great corpus of *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland* was full of praise for the work and reproduced the photographs in his volume together with the first detailed descriptions of the Govan stones (Allen and Anderson 1903), however he did not comment much on their importance to the history of the locality nor to the development of sculpture in Scotland (Allen 1902; Driscoll et al, 2004). A stumbling block here would seem to have been the absence of an historical tradition to accompany the sculpture. So, unlike Iona, St Andrews or Whithorn, Govan could not be placed in the narratives of the arrival of Christianity in Scotland.

The earliest historical mention of Govan in an 8th - century source preserved in the 12th - century *Historia Regnum Anglorum* by the Northumbrian monk Simeon of Durham, has only recently been recognised (Breeze 1999, Forsyth 2000). Following an assault on Dumbarton in 756, we are told that the Northumbrian army began its journey home from *Ovania*, presumably making use of this convenient crossing over the Clyde and possibly after plundering the royal centre at Partick.

The political circumstances need not detain us here, what is noteworthy is the existence of *Ovania* as a place of some significance by the 8th century. This is about two centuries before the earliest of the surviving sculptures and raises interesting questions about Govan's antiquity and origins, questions which draw us into thinking about the prehistoric landscape of the middle Clyde. What evidence there is highlights that the Govan area was an attractive location with good natural attributes prior to the development of the historic period settlement. Although there is no evidence from Govan of Iron Age activity (Dalglish and Driscoll, forthcoming), there is some from excavations at nearby Shiels and Braehead. At Shiels Jack Scott excavated an Iron Age settlement, comprising a single, circular enclosure ditch with several roundhouses inside, which seems to have been re-used in the Medieval period (1996). Downstream at Braehead, three large ditches, numerous palisades and a sequence of structures, some of which were certainly houses, represented the remains of an Iron Age settlement whose form had been altered several times (Ellis 2000, 2001). These small enclosed settlements are rare discoveries in the heavily developed Glasgow region, but we must presume that they are representative of numerous other communities in the central Clyde valley. The Clyde estuary and its carse lands would have provided significant resources in fishing and farming, and the river clearly would have facilitated transport and communication along its length. The Govan area had strategic importance due to the ford there, but it would appear to have been the coming of Christianity which put Govan on the map.



4 Composite plan of Trench C. The lower plan shows the early boulder foundations (211/736), while the upper view shows the later medieval (SK 737) and post medieval (709, 720, 753, 750) burials.



5 *View of Trench C in 1996 from the south showing the massive boulder foundations (211/736) interpreted as the west wall of an early medieval church.*

Archaeological evidence for the earliest Christian activity on the site is limited, but compelling. The excavation near the south-east corner of the church (trench C) revealed a sequence of deposits of building rubble, including fragments of mortar, stone and slates, the traces of previous churches. These relatively modern deposits overlay the *in situ* remains of an earlier structure built of massive boulders set into a trench cut into the subsoil. These boulders were aligned to form a right angle, which I believe represents the south-west corner of a rectilinear building [illus 4]. This possible building shares the alignment of the south wall of the current church and most likely represents the foundations of a small church [illus 5]. During the excavation we noted the absence of lime-based bonding for the boulders with interest, because from the 12th century the prevalent architectural forms required lime - mortar (Fawcett 2002, 24-6). This suggests that the rough boulders supported a timber church from the Early Middle Ages, precise age unknown. The interpretation of this small section of roughly built walling as a church is supported by the discovery of two burials stratigraphically below it. Both were buried with their heads oriented to the west, presumably part of an Early Christian cemetery. These fragile bones provided radiocarbon dates spanning the 5th to 6th centuries (AD 435 – 601 (GU-9024) and: AD 474 – 601 (GU-9025)), making them amongst the earliest dated Christian burials in Strathclyde [illus 6 a & b].

The excavations also revealed that the elevated surface of the churchyard is the result of the presence of a bank and ditch (an ecclesiastical *vallum*) that originally enclosed the pear-shaped churchyard (trench A) [illus 7 & 8]. Charcoal recovered from a secondary ditch fill has produced a calibrated date of AD 886 – 983 (GU-9023), while charcoal from a hearth built just inside the bank has produced a calibrated date of AD 775 – 887 (GU-9021). These dates indicate that the *vallum* was in place by the 8th century, implying there was a substantial ecclesiastical establishment at Govan then, if not earlier.

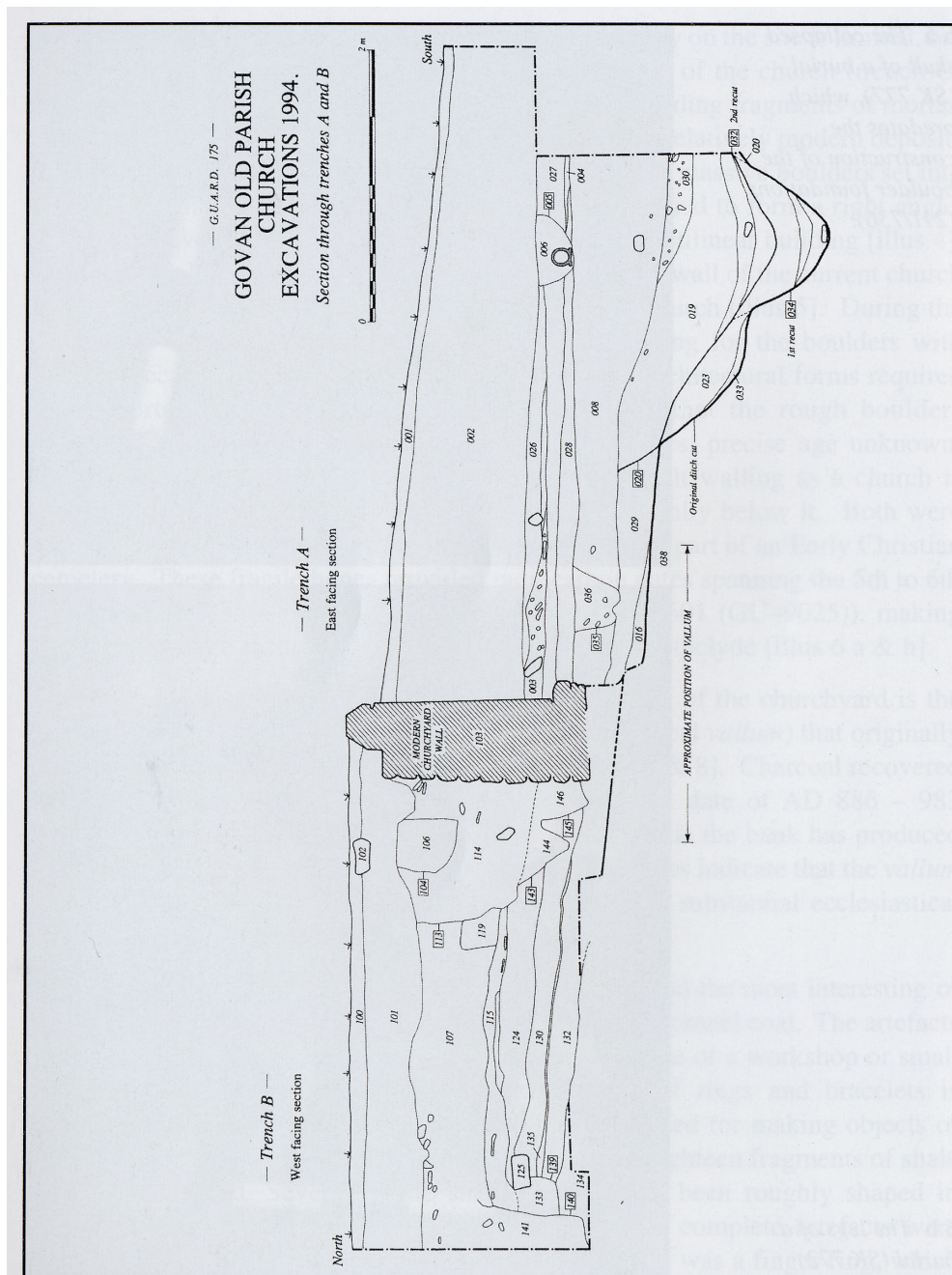
Only a few small finds can be linked to this early period the most interesting of which consist of debris from the manufacture of shale or cannel coal. The artefacts from trenches A and B provide evidence for the presence of a workshop or small industrial area. Shale suitable for the manufacture of rings and bracelets is relatively abundant in central Scotland and has been used for making objects of personal adornment since the Bronze Age. Five of the eighteen fragments of shale have been worked. Several of the shale objects have been roughly shaped in preparation for manufacturing circular objects, but no complete artefacts were recovered [illus 9]. The only clearly identifiable artefact was a finger ring, which apparently broke while being worked and was therefore never finished. The greatest concentration of this material was sealed by the horizon with the rough hearth and ashy deposits in trench B which indicates that this shale working was

6 a *The collapsed skull of a burial (SK 777), which predates the construction of the boulder foundations (211/736).*



6 b *The legs of a burial (SK 772) protruding from beneath the boulder foundations (211/736).*





7 A cross-section through the churchyard boundary which shows that the original boundary consisted of a massive ditch with an internal bank in the position of the modern wall. The construction of the vallum encouraged over 1.5m of soil to accumulate within the churchyard during the following millennium.



8 Wheel barrowing out the soil filling from the vallum ditch (Trench A) during the 1994 dig.

one of the earliest activities on the site following the construction of the boundary ditch. In trench A two roughly shaped fragments and one lump of shale were found in the earliest surviving ditch silts. The character of the shaleworking debris can be readily paralleled on other sites in Scotland (eg Dunadd) and Ireland (eg Armagh), but cannot be dated more closely than 7th to 10th centuries (pers comm E Campbell).



9 A selection of the worked shale artefacts recovered during the 1994 excavations.

Before leaving the topic of the Early Medieval churchyard, the plan merits some comment, because although it is curvilinear and thus typically 'Celtic' or 'Early Christian' it is slightly peculiar (Thomas 1971). If it were genuinely typical it would be round or oval, but it is clearly pear-shaped with a small but distinct kink on the eastern side. Trenches were dug at various locations around the churchyard and the ditch was examined in three locations: one near the modern entrance (trench A), and one on either side of the kink on the east side (trench 1). The trenches on the east revealed different ditch profiles on either side of the kink, which leads me to conclude that they were dug at different times and that the churchyard was expanded to the southeast at some point. The fact that this change took place around the old entrance to the churchyard suggests that the expansion may have been to provide room for a more elaborate entrance way and associated facilities such as a gatehouse.

While we can now recognise that Christianity was established on the Clyde by the 6th century, there are a number of competing ideas about how the new religion was introduced. The traditional view as articulated by Raleigh Radford (1967a and 1967b) was that monks undertook the missionary work. This view was based on

an acceptance of the medieval accounts of the lives of Sts Ninian and Columba. Current thinking is less certain about the process of conversion and the driving forces behind it. In particular the role of secular authorities in promoting Christianity is now given much greater weight, not least because new work on the earliest inscriptions in Scotland reveals greater secular involvement than previously thought (Forsyth 2004). These inscriptions confirm the early dating (5th - 6th centuries) and forces us to recognise that Christian Britons were erecting monuments in Galloway, the Borders and Lothian. The Govan burial evidence indicates that Christianity had penetrated the Clyde by the same time.

The dedication of the church at Govan to St Constantine may be of a similarly early date. The dedication is unusual in Scotland and there is doubt as to the identity of this saint. It probably does not refer directly to the fourth century Roman emperor Constantine, but the Imperial association is significant. Traditionally, Constantine has been identified with a sixth-century royal saint of south-western Britain, while closer to hand an alternative suggestion is that Govan was dedicated to an even more obscure Constantine, an Irish martyr who is commemorated in Kintyre (Macquarrie 1994, 31). The name Constantine became popular amongst the early kings of Scotland, particularly those who claimed descent from the *Cenél nGabráin* dynasty of Dalriada. In the absence of any medieval forms of the dedication, it is not possible to come to a firm conclusion as to the identity of the saint, but the royal associations of name are significant for our interpretation of the wider significance of Govan.

It is impossible to know who was behind the establishment of the earliest church at Govan given the limitations of the historical record and the modest scale of the archaeological investigations, however given the presence of the Doomster Hill and the royal estate recorded in the 12th century at Partick on the opposite bank of the Clyde (discussed below) it is reasonable to suppose that there was some royal British link. It is possible that the first priests were organised into some sort of religious community or monastery, but they need not have been. They may have been intended to minister to a royal estate, they may have had wider pastoral duties. The large size of the medieval parish, which extended from Jordanhill to Govanhill and spanned the Clyde, would seem to suggest extensive pastoral responsibilities. At the moment, Govan's radiocarbon dates make it the oldest Christian site on the Clyde, but while this may be a useful reminder that the pre-eminence of Glasgow was not inevitable, we need to acknowledge that unexcavated Old Kilpatrick, with its ancient link to Dumbarton Rock could be as old or older.

The Glorious Viking Age (800 – 1100)

Whatever forces led to the foundation of a settlement in Govan, by the end of the 10th century it had evolved into the major ecclesiastical centre. Although there are no contemporary historical accounts, the presence of large quantities of sculpture make it clear that Govan was one of the most important churches on the Clyde. The known assemblage of early medieval sculpture at Govan consists of 47 pieces, all of which were found in the churchyard. These can be divided into two broad types: upright crosses, of which there are four, and recumbent burial monuments which account for the remaining 43 stones. Most of the burial monuments are recumbent cross-slabs, but there are also five hog-backed monuments and a unique monolithic sarcophagus. Recent art-historical analyses collected together in *Govan and its Early Medieval Sculpture* have dated the sculpture to the 10th and 11th centuries, with none of it clearly earlier (Ritchie 1994, 2004). This is one of the largest collections of Early Historic sculpture from Scotland; only Iona and St Andrews have larger collections and none of these has as much material from the tenth and eleventh centuries as Govan. In fact this outstanding collection is unparalleled in Scotland for the period between the Vikings and the Anglo-Norman period.

The Sculpture

Three of the four monumental crosses, although executed to a high standard, are difficult to recognize because they have lost their arms and now survive only as shafts; moreover two have been further damaged through reuse as recumbent grave markers. Nevertheless four crosses is an exceptional number and they are indicative of a major church. Even more exceptionally, the great quantity of burial monuments indicates a cemetery of considerable importance. The size and quality of the hogbacks and the sarcophagus surely indicate patronage at the highest, probably royal, level. There is an undeniable secular character to the sculpture which includes images of mounted warriors on two of the up-standing crosses and on the sarcophagus.

During this explosion of sculptural activity we may presume that the churchyard also developed, but the excavations have yielded very little indication of how. The areas on the periphery of the churchyard appear to have been occupied by dwellings and workshops erected in the shelter of the earthen bank which separated the ecclesiastical space from the wider world. These were probably small structures, although no complete plans were recovered. Some evidence of light craftworking activity, mostly the working of shale or cannel coal, was recovered, but it is impossible to tell if these buildings were primarily dwellings



10 Two of the recumbent cross-slabs as illustrated in the *Stirling Maxwell* volume (1899, plate xiv). The William Bogle stone reveals the high level of interest in these monuments during the post-medieval era. The 18th - century Bogle inscription supersedes the 17th - century initials R D.

or workshops. The location of the main church may have been on the north side of the churchyard, near to the present edifice, if the location of the historically attested churches is anything to go by. In early medieval Scotland the churches that have been documented are small, so we should not expect anything much larger than 15m by 5m (the pre-12th - century church at Portmahomack is believed to have been 11m by 7m (Carver 1997, 6)). Such small churches mean that participation in the mass and other religious observances would have been restricted to a select few. However it is possible that there was more than one church within the sacred precinct, as was the pattern at major church sites in pre-Norman Ireland, eg Kells, Co Meath. In Scotland fewer examples of sites with more than one church survive (St Andrews, Iona and St Blane's on Bute), but it must have been more common prior to the blossoming of Romanesque and Gothic architecture. No evidence was recovered to allow us to date the construction of the first masonry church at Govan, but it is unlikely to have been prior to the 12th century. It is against this backdrop of a relatively undeveloped architectural tradition that we should imagine the sculpture. Even if the timber church was richly carved, it would still have been not that different from large domestic buildings, such as might be found across the river at Partick. The presence of monumental sculpture may have been the most visually distinctive feature within the churchyard.

Unfortunately, we do not know where any of the sculpture originally stood. The plan accompanying the Stirling Maxwell (1899) photographs shows the location of the stones at the end of the 19th century. This reveals that the sculpture had been appropriated for use in the family lairs of the great and the good of the parish. This reuse is confirmed by the initials and longer inscriptions cut onto the stones between the 16th - 19th centuries [illus 10]. Wherever the original burial zone was within the original churchyard, it cannot have occupied as much of the area as it does now. Burial near the perimeter of the churchyard appears to have been unusual until the post-medieval period, perhaps because this area was occupied by buildings. The idea of reusing the burial monuments was not an invention of the post-Reformation period, however, as the ancient recutting of two hogbacks demonstrates (Ritchie 2004). The free-standing crosses will have been erected at significant points in the churchyard - perhaps like Kells they occupied the cardinal positions or like Clonmacnoise they were positioned around the church.

Numerically, the largest group of burial monuments are recumbent slabs incised with interlace crosses, of which 38 are known. Although these are part of a wider Insular tradition of recumbent cross-slabs, the Govan type is distinctive and appears to have been long-lived, perhaps having a currency from AD 900 to 1100 (Cramp 1994). These recumbent cross-slabs are found at only two other sites in

Scotland, both on the Clyde and both with royal associations: Dumbarton Castle (two examples) and Inchinnan (two examples) (Driscoll et al 2004). The recumbent cross-slabs are now widely accepted as evidence of a major high status cemetery at Govan. There is no external evidence to indicate whether these stones marked the graves of important churchmen or of the secular elite. Most likely they were used for both.

While it may be impossible to say precisely for whom this sculpture was made, as there are no contemporary inscriptions, the sculpture of the so-called ‘Govan School’ does reveal secular political influences. Current scholarly consensus is that the Govan assemblage is best accounted for as the evidence of a royal cemetery of the northern Britons. This observation has important implications for understanding two associated archaeological sites, the Doomster Hill and Partick Castle (see below).

The Doomster Hill

Complementing the historic churchyard was a massive mound known as the Doomster Hill, which formerly towered over the cottages of Water Row. There appears to have been a physical link between the church and the Doomster Hill. In the south-east corner of the churchyard (trench G) excavation revealed a metallated roadway, which incorporated a deposit of charcoal dated to between AD 734 – 892 (GU – 9022). This road appears to lead from the main entrance in the east towards the Doomster Hill, which formerly stood at Govan Cross. Although there is no Medieval evidence as to the mound’s function, there are compelling post-medieval accounts which reveal its function, if not its full importance. These have been effectively brought together by the Revd Tom Davidson Kelly (1994b, 1-17). The name ‘Doomster Hill’ was recorded in 1795 by the parish minister, who believed it to be ancient (*Statistical Account*, Pollock 1973, 294). The name suggests that the mound was a site where people assembled and justice was performed, a moot hill or court hill of the sort known to have existed throughout medieval Scotland (Barrow 1981). The first detailed description, by the minister in the *New Statistical Account*, reported that the mound was flat-topped with a diameter of c 45m and a height of c 5m (Leishman 1845, 690). He also reported that in the 1830s labourers from Reid’s Dye Works on Water Row had, while inserting a water tank into the mound, discovered bones and what may have been a timber chamber. It is hard to know what to make of this account, but it suggests that the mound may have originated as a burial monument. The mound was levelled in the 1850s when the Old Govan shipyard took possession of the site, and thus does not appear on the first edition Ordnance Survey map.



11 *An aerial view from the west of the June 1996 excavations at the site of the Doomster Hill.*

Leishman's dimensions should be treated as estimates, because his account is brief and omits to mention the prominent wide step or the massive ditch, both of which are visible in an engraving made in 1758 (Davidson Kelly 1994b, 3). The only map on which the Doomster Hill appears is the Roy Map, surveyed about 1750, which represents the mound as a flat-topped oval of massive proportions: it is larger than the churchyard! It stands in open (common?) ground by the river's edge behind the houses of the Main Street [illus 13]. If Roy has not grossly misrepresented the scale, then this image lends support to the proposed etymology which derives the settlement name from the mound itself (see below).

The Roy Map cannot be used to locate the site of the Doomster Hill with precision, nor are the antiquarian descriptions detailed enough to pinpoint the site. As part of the archaeological evaluation of Govan, an investigation was undertaken to locate the Doomster Hill. In 1996 the large ditch which surrounded the mound was identified (Driscoll & Will 1996, 15-7; Driscoll & Will 1997, 23-7).

Upwards of 2m of accumulated soil generated by the demolition of the dye works, the shipyard and a tenement block overlay the original ground surface, which hindered investigation of the ditch. The ditch was not fully excavated, but its minimum dimensions must be of the order of 6m wide by 2.5m deep. Unfortunately, it is such a large feature that even these expanded excavations [illus 12] did not expose enough of the ditch to allow the Doomster Hill to be located with precision, so the position indicated in Illustration 1 is an approximation. The question of whether the mound was built over an earlier, possibly prehistoric burial mound also could not be resolved. No evidence was discovered which could provide a date for the original construction of the ditch, but large sherds of late Medieval (16th - century) pottery were recovered from the fill of the ditch (Driscoll and Will 1997, 31-2).

The interpretation of the Doomster Hill as an assembly place and court hill is supported by the presence of other stepped mounds known to have been built to serve such functions in Viking Dublin and, famously, at the Tynwald on the Isle of Man, where the Manx Parliament still meets (Driscoll 2003). In Scotland, the most relevant comparison is to be made with Scone, where from at least AD 906 popular assemblies met to inaugurate the king on a flat-topped mound. The immense scale of the Govan mound and its proximity to the royal seat at Partick suggests that the court of the king of the Britons met here.

The name Govan apparently refers to the Doomster Hill. The folk etymology for Govan based upon the Old Gaelic word for smith, *gobae*, has been widely circulated, but this interpretation is not supported by the earliest forms of the name found in the historical records associated with the creation of Glasgow Cathedral (eg c 1134, *Gluen*; Lawrie 1905, 82). An alternative derivation from the Gaelic *gobán* or 'promontory', proposed by Macquarrie (1994, 27), also is in conflict with the historical forms. Clancy (1996, 2-3) has argued that the name was coined when the local population still spoke a British dialect (akin to Old Welsh). He proposes that the name incorporated two elements: *gwo-/go-*, 'small' and *ban*, 'hill', which he suggests may refer to the Doomster Hill. This would require that the great mound was a dominant feature in the landscape before the British tongue was replaced by Gaelic, that is, not much later than the tenth century. This reading implies that the Doomster Hill, and not the church, was the distinguishing feature of the settlement. This interpretation is consistent with the recognised British linguistic origins for the name Partick (first recorded around 1150 as *Perthec*, meaning 'little grove') and Glasgow itself, (*Glasgu*, meaning 'green hollow' (Taylor forthcoming).

Partick

Historically Partick formed part of Govan parish and it is essential to our understanding of the social and political significance of Govan. The earliest historical references to Partick make it clear that prior to the twelfth century there was a royal *vill*, or estate at Partick (Barrow 1999, 72). Although little is known about the form and design of Early Historic royal estates in Scotland, a comparable royal centre at Yeavering in Northumbria has been extensively excavated (Hope-Taylor 1977). Yeavering was a significant royal estate, although not the principal seat of the kings of Northumbria in the seventh and eighth centuries. Hope-Taylor excavated a complex series of timber buildings which sprawled over an area greater than 250m by 130m, at the heart of which stood a great hall over 30m in length. Over a dozen ancillary structures provided domestic accommodation for the local community and visitors, as well as space for agricultural storage and work. It probably also served as a place of assembly (Driscoll 2004). While it may be thought unlikely that Partick was as extensive, it is interesting that on the Roy Map [illus 13], the village of Partick from the castle to the cross-roads occupies an area similar in size to Yeavering. What is important to recognise is that, during the medieval period, a royal (later an ecclesiastical) estate consisted of a collection of buildings (a settlement of lesser dwellings and out buildings) alongside the lord's accommodation.

The Viking Age was certainly a time when warfare was commonplace and political success depended upon military strength, so the presence of images of warriors is to be expected in a cemetery of the period with royal associations. What comes as more of a surprise is the prominence of the Doomster Hill, which is a monument used in the exercise of civil government. The immense size of the mound and proximity to the royal estate at Partick would seem to suggest that a royal court was convened on the Doomster Hill. The complex of monuments at Govan can be appreciated as a setting for political ceremony through comparison with the Tynwald on Man, where the court hill is linked to the nearby church by a processional way (Broderick 2003). Presumably, travelling along the path connecting the Doomster Hill to the church conveyed a sense of importance to those who processed along it. This route still survives as Pearce Lane (although it has lost some of its former dignity!) The combination of palaces with important churches, with and without a dynastic burial ground, is a phenomenon of northern medieval Europe and can be found at places as widespread as Jelling, Denmark; Aachen, Germany; and Winchester (Welanders et al 2003). Such places also could serve as locations for popular assemblies and the juxtaposition of a major church and possible dynastic mausoleum with a site of royal justice raises the possibility that Govan was a site of 'national' assembly, perhaps even a place where kings were made.



12 *A mechanical excavator cutting through the in-filled ditch, which surrounded the Doomster Hill, in 1996.*



13 A detail of General Roy's Military Survey showing Meickle Gowan and Partack. The Doomster Hill occupies open ground between the village and the Clyde opposite the mouth of the River Kelvin.

Art historical dating cannot provide a precise chronology for the beginning of sculpture at Govan, but Govan appears to have been the successor to Dumbarton following the Viking assault on the great 'fort of the Britons' (Alcock and Alcock 1990, Driscoll 1998). The abundance of sculpture and the presence of the Doomster Hill, suggests that, in the late Viking Age, Govan was the pre-eminent political centre on the Clyde. The character of the sculpture and the form of the court hill both indicate a Norse influence and there is every reason to believe that there was a significant Scandinavian presence in the north British kingdom during the 10th and 11th centuries (Crawford 1987). During the 10th century, Dublin and York were frequently under the rule of the same Viking dynasty (Smyth 1984), which heightened the strategic importance of the Clyde.

By combining the various fragments of evidence available to us a case can be made to argue that Govan's first era of glory was bound up in the reconstruction of the British kingdom of the Clyde during the Viking Age. What can we say about that kingdom?

The rulers of the Northern Britons are historically obscure, particularly in the centuries after the destruction of Dumbarton. Only a few of the kings are mentioned in contemporary historical records and there is no king list or other genealogical material to shed light on the composition of the ruling dynasty (Macquarrie 1993). Consequently, there has been much debate about the centuries between the collapse of Dumbarton and the formal acquisition of Strathclyde by the kings of Scots early in the twelfth century (Driscoll 1998). Scholars have long suggested that during the centuries of the Viking Age (800-1000) the northern British kingdom on the Clyde came to be dominated by Gaels (ie the Scots), by Norse (ie Vikings) or by mixed Gaelic-Norse peoples based in the Hebrides. There is scant historical evidence relating to the internal organisation of the kingdom, but linguistic evidence (eg, Gaelic place-names) and Norse artefacts (eg, the Govan hogback sculpture) can be used to identify various influences in this period. Whatever the truth about the independence of the Britons, it is clear that the ninth and tenth centuries were characterised by significant political disruption.

Medieval Govan (1100 – 1560)

The foundation of the See of Glasgow (between 1114 and 1118) had profound importance for the history of the west of Scotland, because the Cathedral was the first institution to use writing on a large scale. Both the administrative and the devotional texts relating to Glasgow are important for the history of Govan. In political terms the rise of Glasgow had serious consequences for Govan, because the foundation of the diocese coincided with the terminal decline of the British kingdom.

It was common practice for great medieval churches wishing to celebrate the accomplishments of their patron to produce biographical accounts of their saint. In the case of Glasgow, there are two different versions of the *Life of Kentigern* which survive from the twelfth century. These incorporate even earlier material which derives from a British source pre-dating the establishment of the Cathedral (Macquarrie 1997, 117 - 44). The significant point for Govan is that this earlier stratum describes Partick as a royal *vill*, 'estate', of Rhydderch Hael (Macquarrie 1993; 1997, 137). Even if the association with that particular king is anachronistic, this is the clearest statement of Partick's royal status in the 11th century and earlier.

The first contemporary historical notice relating to Govan is David I's grant of the lands of Govan to Glasgow Cathedral, made between 1128 and 1136 (Barrow 1999, 72): 'You are to know that I have given and granted to the church of St. Mungo of Glasgu and to the bishopric the same church Guven, with all its bounds'. Subsequently, Govan (including Partick) was made a prebend of the Cathedral by Bishop Herbert (1147-1164). This in effect meant that the income from teinds (tithes) was channelled to support the household of the bishop (Davidson Kelly 1994a, 16). It also meant that the Prebendary of Govan became a member of the Cathedral chapter and had a manse in Glasgow, which lay to the north of Provand's Lordship facing the Cathedral, while the work of the parish was undertaken by subordinates, a vicar and a parish clerk.

Although this represents a loss of status by comparison with the previous era, Govan was a rich parish because of its size. The incumbent frequently occupied influential positions within the diocese and exercised a degree of administrative authority. Nevertheless, Govan ceased to be a religious and political hub. It rarely appears in medieval documents except in the context of cathedral business and this was because the bishop acquired the estate of Partick and used it as a rural retreat. In 1342 an episcopal act was issued from Govan and in 1362 an agreement between the bishop and chapter (Innes (ed) 1843 i, nos 287, 299, 300). The most prominent medieval event recorded in Govan took place in 1298, when Robert Bruce, Earl of Carrick, issued an act on behalf of the Guardians of Scotland.

Presumably Bruce had been staying in the Partick manor house of Bishop Robert Wishart, one of his most loyal supporters.

Archaeologically the later middle ages are not well represented. The structure interpreted as a timber church was replaced at some point in the Middle Ages by a stone-built church, which some have suggested was built in a Romanesque style, on analogy with Old Kilpatrick. It is entirely possible that more than one stone church was erected during the Medieval period for which we do not yet have archaeological evidence. The first church about which any details are known was erected in 1762 to replace the by then decrepit medieval structure. Although spreads of mortar and stone chippings attesting to the demolition of this medieval church were encountered in the 1994 and 1996 excavations (trench C), these were too slight to provide any information about its form or ornamental scheme.

It is certain that there was a manse in Govan, but its position cannot be confirmed archaeologically. It seems most likely that the medieval manse lay under or near the manse represented on the first edition Ordnance Survey [illus 1]. The slightly irregular form of the building hints that an earlier, perhaps Medieval, structure stood at its core. We will probably never know for certain, because the investigation of the site of the manse in 1996 (trenches 1 and 2) revealed that the archaeological deposits have been truncated. It appears that the manse stood on a slightly elevated piece of land and was levelled when the Harland & Wolff shipyard was built in the early 20th century.

The change in Govan's fortunes is accurately reflected in the sculptural evidence. The flourishing sculptural tradition seems to have stopped abruptly. Only one piece of medieval sculpture is known, a heavily eroded coffin-shaped grave stone stands to the west of the churchyard, it is probably of 15th - century date; a solitary witness to the decline in patronage and channelling of resources elsewhere. Or is it? We know very little about medieval landholding in the parish of Govan, but it seems entirely likely to me that the Early Medieval recumbent grave stones continued in use throughout the Middle Ages, probably in some cases by the very descendants of those who had originally commissioned them. This, at least seems a possibility, because when the positions of these monuments were first recorded, they were in the lairs linked to the larger estates in the parish. Maybe we should read the lack of new monument sculpture as a sign of stability and security.

Govan parish church continued in use of course, but it ceased to be exceptional. Burial continued both inside and out of the church. Burials from the later middle ages must have filled the churchyard, to judge from the presence of poorly preserved burials in the deeper levels of most of the trenches. Continuous use of

the kirkyard until the end of the 19th century has had a deleterious effect on the medieval burials and most were heavily disturbed. Occasionally better preserved examples were encountered, as with one of the excavated graves (717) located within the medieval church. Unusually the fill of this grave could be identified and it included sherds from a facemask jug, probably from the Stenhouse kilns, which were active in the 15th century [illus 14].

Govan would have retained its importance within the local communication network, although even this would have diminished after the construction of the bridge over the Clyde at Glasgow sometime during the 13th century. The agricultural value of the lands of Govan would have remained and perhaps been enhanced by proximity of the city, but as a settlement it was transformed into a small village with a major estate centre across the river, but no market or significant administrative function.



14 *Fragments of a face-mask jug recovered from a burial (SK 737) made within the medieval church.*

Post-medieval Govan: 1560 - present

Across Scotland the experience of the Reformation was not uniform and the nature of the changes reflected local interests and produced distinctive responses. From Govan's perspective perhaps one of the most important consequences of the Reformation was the dissolution of the cathedral chapter, which had the effect of bringing the church's resources and minister back to the parish. The minister continued to be a significant public figure, for instance four successive principals of Glasgow University served as Govan's minister. Despite the presence of some illustrious ministers, at the start of the modern era Govan was an unexceptional rural village, similar to countless others in central Scotland engaged primarily in agriculture with some small-scale craft activity on the side. In other words there was nothing about 17th - century Govan that prefigured the phenomenal expansion and prosperity created by the 19th-century steamship industry.

The earliest evidence for the pre-modern disposition of settlement in Govan comes from General Roy's map (1747 - 55), which shows cottages strung out along a single street running roughly parallel to the Clyde with a knot of settlement running down towards the river-crossing in parallel rows [illus 13]. A prominent feature of Roy's depiction is an un-named burn, flowing northward to the Clyde, which cut the settlement in half near Govan Cross and separated the churchyard from the Doomster Hill. This burn is shown running to the east of the Water Row cottages and may be the eponymous water. The layout looks like an organic development generated by the ancient focal points of the settlement – kirk, ford and moot hill. Few elements of this pre-industrial townscape survive, because the shipyards came to occupy the whole of the river frontage, although a number of the small, thatched cottages survived long enough to be recorded by Thomas Brodie (1905). The rural idyll of Govan with its thatched weavers' cottages was however not without its social tensions and we can see these played out in the burial monuments of the early modern period.

Burial Monuments

It is ironic that the most tangible and revealing relics from early modern Govan are burial monuments, which, like the recumbent grave-slabs of the Early Middle Ages, were produced in a period of rapid social change. The churchyard did not simply come to be used by a more varied population, but also became a significant resource for these different groups as they sought to establish or defend their positions within the social hierarchy. The emerging artisan class seem to have pursued some form of solidarity through common adherence to a preferred monument type, the upright headstone. This was a relatively new form, most

earlier examples having been recumbent grave slabs. The latter form continued to be preferred by the established landowner class.

The historical potential of these monuments was first outlined by Betty Willsher (1992), who noted a sequence of upright grave stones starting in the 17th century. This resource was further explored by Catherine Cutmore, who catalogued the entire assemblage of burial monuments (1996; 1997; 1998). It had long been recognised that all of the recumbents showed evidence of extreme wear and that many had been inscribed with initials and names in the early modern period, but this reuse had been regarded as casual, haphazard and, of course, regrettable. By studying the early plans of the cemetery Cutmore was able in a majority of cases to link these inscribed recumbents with the lairs of estates owned by leading families in the parish.

By contrast, the vertical headstone, which had first appeared in the 17th century, was favoured by artisans and merchants. Although these probably marked the burials of those most successful in trades and commerce, they display a marked contrast to the monuments of the heritor class both in the form of the monument and in the symbolic vocabulary employed. The established landowners appear to have preferred reusing the recumbent monuments. They seem to have been drawn to their unchanged ancient form, to have taken comfort from the interlaced image of the cross and undoubtedly took pride in the exclusivity of such monuments. Some were re-inscribed in the seventeenth century, at a time when many of these families were aggrandising themselves through the formation of larger estates. Others were re-inscribed in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when the hegemony of these families was under challenge from incoming merchant landowners and emerging artisan and other groups. Where the ancient monuments were not available to the landed elite there was a preference for horizontal new monuments; the so-called 'table monuments', which covered the grave like the recumbents and provided ample space for the display of family information.

By contrast the vertical headstones were smaller and combined commemorative functions with theological statements. The development of these monuments in the eighteenth century is a remarkable phenomenon, not least because of the wealth of imagery they deploy: classical architectural motifs frame images of mortality inspired by reformed religious belief and alongside craft tools and trade symbols proclaiming worldly accomplishment [illus 15]. This was also a time when Glasgow's merchants were creating country estates around Govan: Glasgow is one of the most common places of residence recorded on the stones. Much work remains to be done to interpret these complex monuments, but this much is clear: they represent the beliefs and aspirations of a new social order, which was challenging the existing agricultural society.

The final chapters in the organisation of the kirkyard occurred in the middle of the 19th century when new lairs were constructed on the north-east perimeter of the cemetery, and towards the end of the century when other lairs were shifted and additional land was acquired for the Anderson church (McKinstry 1992, 5). Hitherto the area immediately inside the boundary wall had been kept free of burials and marked out by an avenue of trees, a few of which remain. These new lairs with their high iron railings can be seen in a view of the 1826 church by moonlight [illus 16]. In 1994 one of these was dug, primarily to determine whether any medieval deposits survive in this part of the site. It is informative about the elaborate burial rites which developed during the 19th century. The lair was owned by John Monteith of Westbank WS from Glasgow and contained burials of himself and five of his family between 1839 - 1855. Owing to favourable soil conditions created by the subterranean brick vault perishable materials were preserved well enough to reveal that the coffins were covered with velvet held in place by pewter trim and that the interiors were lined with sumptuous fabrics. This prosperous legal family ceased to use their vault at just the time when the Govan shipyards were transforming the quiet idyll into a hotbed of industrial activity. No longer the ideal eternal resting place, the owners of lairs gradually transferred their allegiances to other, calmer parishes.

Church Architecture

From the preceeding discussions it is apparent that throughout its history the church in Govan has been the focus of and repository for the most enduring and revealing of social expressions, burial memorials. But the history of the post-medieval church reveals how the fabric of the church itself embodies social meanings.

Across Scotland the later 18th century saw the construction of new churches. In Govan the Medieval parish church was replaced in 1762 (Brotchie 1938, 159 - 160). As depicted on a survey of the graveyard of 1809, the new church lay on the site of the southern part of the present nave, on the site occupied by the medieval church. In plan it was a simple rectangle, oriented east - west, with projections to the east, west and south – probably two loft-stairs and a porch. Although part of the original design, the spire remained unfinished in the 1790s. The ongoing anxiety of the heritors about the emerging artisan class is perhaps reflected in their patronage of a new church in 1762, which was erected only a few years after the foundation of the Govan Weavers' Society.

By the 1820s, the fabric of the church had apparently deteriorated and it was replaced in 1826 by a 'simple Gothic structure, with lancet windows and battlements' (Leishman 1845, 711; Davidson Kelly 1994a, 12). The design of its tower and spire was apparently taken from the church of Stratford-upon-Avon.

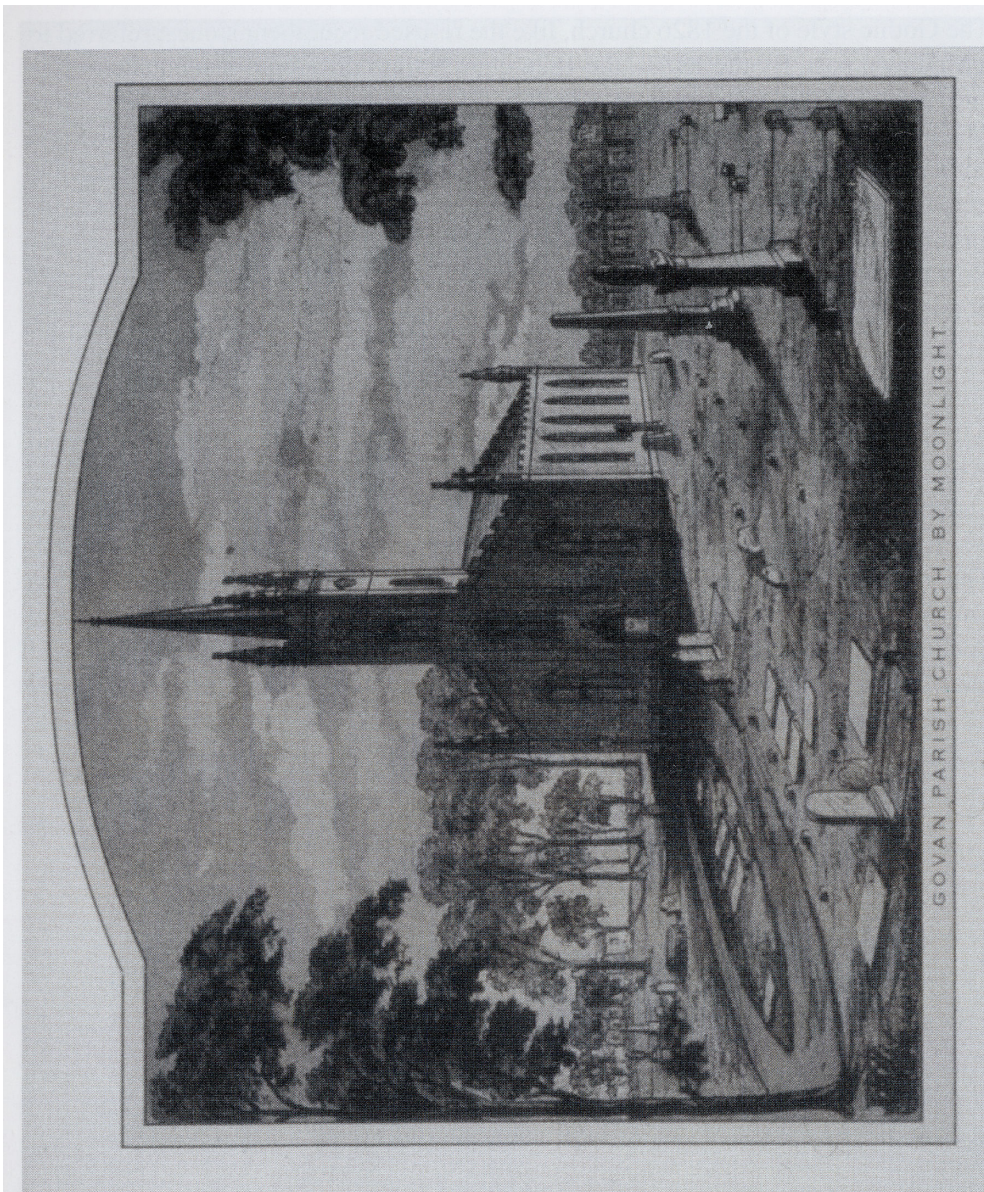


15 *Two 18th-century headstones from the Moses lair: the stylised angel supported by a pair of columns (right) was erected in 1778 to commemorate Alexander McKenzie and his spouse Janet Moses, the plain monument (left) to James Moses was erected by his children in 1790.*

The Gothic style of the 1826 church, like the re-used recumbent stones, referred to a Medieval past. By the 1870s, the 1826 church was considered inadequate in size and unfit for the new style of worship favoured by the then-incumbent John Macleod (McKinstry 1992, 4 - 5). It was replaced in 1884 - 88 by Rowand Anderson's scholarly exercise in Gothic design, originally intended to have a massive free-standing spire, which would have rivalled any of the 19th - century Gothic Revival spires found elsewhere Glasgow. The impressive scale of the Rowand Anderson church and the accompanying Pearce Institute were made possible by the great wealth of the ship-building barons of Govan.

The Next Chapter

All of the archaeological work mentioned above was undertaken in order to evaluate the survival of deposits and structures capable of contributing to our understanding of Govan's history. In the process I have discovered that Govan has a heritage much richer than a superficial survey of the churchyard might suggest. The remarkable run of burial memorials extending over a thousand years is unusual in Scotland and in the context compensates for the paucity of historical documentation. The discovery of features of the Early Medieval political landscape have elevated Govan into one of the most important archaeological sites on the Clyde. It is hoped that as the current phase of redevelopment of Glasgow reaches Govan these archaeological resources will be given appropriate treatment.



16 A view of the Govan parish church by moonlight taken from an 1879 promotional calendar produced by William Barr; general outfitters, Great Western Buildings, Govan. This shows the kirkyard following the creation of the existing southern entrance. This reorientation was probably undertaken in 1826 when the Gothic Revival church was built.

References

- Alcock, L & Alcock, E A 1990 'Reconnaissance excavations on Early Historic fortification and other royal sites in Scotland, 1974-84: 4, Excavations at Alt Clut, Clyde Rock, Strathclyde, 1974-75', *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 120, 95-149.
- Allen, J Romilly 1902 'The Early Christian monuments of the Glasgow district', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeological Society* 4, 394-402.
- Allen, J Romilly & Anderson, J 1903 *The Early Christian Monuments of Scotland*. Edinburgh. Republished 1993 by The Pinkfoot Press, Balgavies, Angus.
- Barrow, G W S 1981 Popular Courts, *Scottish Studies* 25, 1-24.
- Barrow, G W S (ed) 1999 *The charters of David I*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press.
- Breeze, A 1999 Simeon of Durham's Annal for 756 and Govan, Scotland, *Nomina* 22, 133-8.
- Brotchie, T C F 1905 *The history of Govan burgh and parish*. Govan. Republished 1938 by The Old Govan Club, Glasgow.
- Broderick, George 2003 Tynwald: A Manx Cult-Site and Institution of Pre-Scandinavian Origin?, *Cambridge Medieval Celtic Studies* 46, 55-94.
- Carver, M O H 1997 *Tarbat Discovery Programme Bulletin No 3*, University of York.
- Clancy, Thomas Owen 1996 'Govan: the name', *Society of Friends of Govan Old Sixth annual report*, 2-3.
- Cramp, Rosemary 1994 'The Govan recumbent cross-slabs', in Ritchie, A (ed), 55-61.
- Crawford, B E 1987 *Scandinavian Scotland*. Leicester: Leicester University Press.
- Cutmore, Catherine 1996 *Memorial stones in the kirkyard of Govan: a study of the Early Modern monuments and the interplay with the re-used Early Medieval 'Govan Stones'*. University of Glasgow (Department of Archaeology): unpublished MA dissertation.
- Cutmore, Catherine 1997 'An archaeological study of the memorial stones in the kirkyard of Govan Old Parish Church', *Society of Friends of Govan Old Seventh annual report*, 8-18.
- Cutmore, Catherine 1998 'An archaeological study of the memorial stones in the kirkyard of Govan Old Parish Church, part 2: index of monuments in the churchyard of Govan', *Society of Friends of Govan Old Eighth annual report*, 1-7.
- Dalglish, Chris and Driscoll, Stephen T forthcoming *Historic Govan*, Scottish Burgh Survey: Historic Scotland/Council for British Archaeology.
- Davidson Kelly, Tom A 1994a 'The Prebend of Govan: 1150-1560', *Society of Friends of Govan Old Fourth annual report*, 12-24.
- Davidson Kelly, Tom A 1994b 'The Govan collection in the context of local history', in Ritchie, A (ed), 1-17.
- Driscoll, Stephen T 1995 'Medieval Britain and Ireland, 1994. 337. Glasgow, Govan Old Parish Church', *Medieval Archaeology* 39, 277-9.
- Driscoll, Stephen T 1997 'Medieval Britain and Ireland, 1996. 265. Govan Old Parish Church and Water Row', *Medieval Archaeology* 41, 318-20.
- Driscoll, Stephen T 1998 'Church archaeology in Glasgow and the Kingdom of Strathclyde', *Innes Review* 49, 95-114.
- Driscoll, Stephen T 2003 'Govan: an Early Medieval royal centre on the Clyde', in Welander, R, Breeze, D, & Clancy, T O (eds) *The Stone of Destiny artefact and icon*. Edinburgh, 77-85.
- Driscoll, Stephen T 2004 'The Archaeological Context of Assembly in Early Medieval Scotland - Scone and its Comparanda', in A Pantos and S Semple (eds) *Assembly Places and Practices in Medieval Europe*. Four Courts: Dublin, in press.
- Driscoll, Stephen T, O' Grady, O and Forsyth, K S 2004 'The Govan School revisited: searching for meaning in the early medieval sculpture of Strathclyde', in Foster, S & M Cross (eds) *Able Minds and Practiced Hands*. Four Courts: Dublin, in press.
- Driscoll, Stephen T & Will, R S 1996 *Water Row, Govan*. University of Glasgow (GUARD): unpublished interim report.
- Driscoll, Stephen T & Will, R S 1997 *Govan Old Parish Church and Water Row*. University of Glasgow (GUARD): unpublished interim report.

- Ellis, C 2000 'Braehead, Govan, Glasgow City (Govan parish), 'later prehistoric settlement', *Discovery and excavation in Scotland*, 43.
- Ellis, C 2001 'Braehead, Glasgow City (Govan parish), prehistoric enclosure', *Discovery and excavation in Scotland*, 49-50.
- Fawcett, Richard 2002 *Scottish Medieval Churches: architecture and furnishings*. Stroud: Tempus.
- Forsyth, Katherine 2000 Evidence for a lost Pictish source in the historia Regum Anglorum of Symeon of Durham, in Taylor, Simon (ed) *Kings, clerics and chronicles in Scotland 500- 1297*. Four Courts: Dublin, 19-34.
- Forsyth, Katherine 2004 Hic memoria perpetua: the inscribed stones of sub-Roman southern Scotland, in Foster, S & Cross, M (eds) *Able Minds and Practiced Hands*. Four Courts: Dublin, in press.
- Hope-Taylor, B 1977 *Yeaving*, London: HMSO.
- Innes, C (ed) 1843 *Registrum Episcopatus Glasguensis*. Glasgow: Bannatyne & Maitland Clubs.
- Lawrie, A C 1905 *Early Scottish Charters prior to AD 1153*. Glasgow: Maclehose.
- Leishman, Matthew 1845 'Parish of Govan', in *The new Statistical Account of Scotland*, volume 7. Edinburgh: Blackwood & Sons, 668-718.
- Macquarrie, Alan 1990 'Early Christian Govan: the historical context', *Records of the Scottish Church History Society* 24, 1-17.
- Macquarrie, Alan 1992 'Early Christian religious houses in Scotland: foundation and function', in Blair, J & Sharpe, R (eds) *Pastoral care before the parish*. Leicester: Leicester University Press, 110-133.
- Macquarrie, Alan 1993 'The kings of Strathclyde, c. 400-1018' in Grant, A and Stringer, K (eds) *Medieval Scotland: Crown, Lordship and Community: Essays presented to G W S Barrow*, Edinburgh, 1-19.
- Macquarrie, Alan 1994 The historical context of the Govan stones', in Ritchie, A (ed), 27-32.
- Macquarrie, Alan 1997 *The Saints of Scotland: Essays in Scottish Church History AD 450-1093*. Edinburgh: John Donald.
- McKinstry, Sam 1992 'The architecture of Govan Old Parish Church', *Society of Friends of Govan Old Second annual report*, 4-15.
- Pollock, J 1973[1791-1799] 'Parish of Govan', in Sinclair, J (ed) *The Statistical Account of Scotland 1791-1799, volume VII, Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire*. Wakefield: E P Publishing, 356-371.
- Radford, C A R 1967a 'The Early Christian Monuments at Govan and Inchinnan', *Transactions of the Glasgow Archaeology Society* 15 (4) (1967), 173-88.
- Radford, C A R 1967b 'The early Church in Strathclyde and Galloway', *Medieval Archaeology* 11 (1967), 105 -26.
- Ritchie, Anna (ed) 1994 *Govan and its Early Medieval Sculpture*. Stroud: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd.
- Scott, J G 1996 'The ditched enclosure at Shiels Govan, Glasgow', in Alexander, D (ed) *Prehistoric Renfrewshire: papers in honour of Frank Newall*. Renfrewshire Local History Forum – Archaeology Section, 65-70.
- Smyth, A P 1984 *Warlords and Holy Men: Scotland AD 80-1000* (London).
- Stirling Maxwell, J 1899 *Sculptured Stones in the Kirkyard of Govan*. Glasgow.
- Taylor, Simon forthcoming 'Gaelic in Glasgow: the onomastic evidence', in Kidd, S (ed) *Glasgow: city of the Gaels/Glasghu: baile mòr nan Gaidheal*. Tuckwell Press: East Linton.
- Taylor, Simon (ed) 2000 *Kings, clerics and chronicles in Scotland 500-1297*. Dublin: Four Courts Press.
- Thomas, Charles 1971 *The Early Christian Archaeology of North Britain*. Glasgow: Glasgow/Oxford University Press.
- Welander, R, Breeze, D J and Clancy, T O (eds) 2003 *The Stone of Destiny Artefact and Icon*, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland Monograph 22, Edinburgh.
- Willsher, Betty 1992 'Govan Old Parish Church graveyard', *Society of Friends of Govan Old Second annual report*, 16-23.

Publications available:

Friends of Govan Old Lecture Series

Anna Ritchie	<i>Hogback gravestones at Govan and beyond</i>	£3.50
Stephen T Driscoll	<i>Govan from Cradle to Grave</i>	£4.00

Forthcoming Publication of Lectures:

Barbara E Crawford on tenth century multi-cultural Scotland

Dauvit Broun on the early medieval history of Govan

Tom Davidson Kelly on Govan's daughter churches

Other Publications:

Anna Ritchie	<i>Govan and its carved stones</i>	£4.00
Raymond K Young	<i>No Ordinary Minister: Christian Leadership and Community Change, Govan 1960 - 1980</i>	£4.00
Sally Joyce Rush	<i>The Stained Glass Windows of Govan Old Parish Church</i>	£2.00

All prices include packing and postage within the UK.

These publications are available from the Friends of Govan Old:

Govan Old Parish Church
P O Box 7325
Glasgow G51 3BW
www.govanold.org.uk

**The Society of Friends of Govan Old
Annual Lecture 2005**

Dr Alan D Macquarrie

The standing crosses of the 'Govan School'

Saturday 12th March 2005

at 2 pm

in Govan Old Parish Church
set behind the Pearce Institute, Govan Road, Glasgow



The second in the new series of Annual Lectures published by the Friends of Govan Old significantly alters our view of Govan's history. Dr Stephen Driscoll presents the general reader and the specialist student with up-dated reflections on the GUARD excavations he conducted in and around Govan's kirkyard 1994 - 96. He interprets 4 phases of the Govan story: the early Christian, stressing that Govan was the Cradle of Christianity on the Clyde; the Viking Age; and the Medieval and Post-medieval periods. He discusses the archaeology and history of Govan's lost monument, the Doomster Hill, assesses the importance of the royal hall at Partick, and places Govan's famed, and recently scheduled, collection of early medieval sculpture in a unique context of continuous burial from the 5th to the 20th centuries.

This publication was generously sponsored by The Strathmartine Trust and Historic Scotland.



ISBN 0-9545321-2-0



9 780954 532123